

on the summit with a flower. It is inscribed with the names of a husband and wife, Hippocrates and Baucis.

No. 53. The Sigean inscription, the most celebrated palaeographical monument in existence. It is a quadrangular prism of marble, more than $8\frac{1}{2}$ English feet in height, and a foot and a half in breadth and thickness. This inscription is engraved *bustrophedon*, that is to say, one line of it is read from left to right, and the next from right to left, in the same way as a ploughman turns up his furrows. It is twice repeated on the same surface, at different heights. The lower inscription is the more ancient; since it has not two different characters for the E and the H, nor for the O and the Ω ; while these differences are observed in the inscription engraved at the upper part of the prism. Besides, the first seems to have been written in the life time of Phanodicus; the second, that is to say, the upper one, after his death. I imagine that the latter

was engraved on the upper part of the prism with the view of diminishing its height ; and the lower part was at the same time sunk into the ground, so that the inscription of Phanodicus was no longer visible ; which was the motive for repeating it at the upper part of the pillar, with some slight variations, depending on the differences of circumstances and dates.

Chishull first published this inscription in his *Antiquitates Asiaticae* : and Dr. Chandler has given it more correctly, at the beginning of his work entitled, *Inscriptiones in Asia minori et Graecia*.

No. 54. Sepulchral inscription, engraved on an entablature. The two first lines are in prose, and are followed by an epitaph in sixteen elegiac verses.

The deceased was Publius Aelius Phaedrus, son of Pistoteles of Sunium. His father was distinguished by the office of *Exhegetes*, expounder of the sacred laws,

and by other honourable titles : the father of Cecropia, his mother, was Athenion of Phalereus, *Perihegetes* for life, probably *leader of the sacred processions*. Here follows the epigram :

Κεκροπία* μεν ἔμοι σαοφρων πελει, ὦ ξενε, μητηρ,
 Ξυνον της πατρίας οὔνομ' ἐνεγκάμενη.

Ἐκ δε πατρος γενομένη μεγακλυδeos ἐν Κεκροπεσσι
 Θειοφίλου,† προγονοις και γενει εὐπατρίδου.

Παρ' τουτων και πριν μεν ἀνηρῶασεν ἀγχιος αἶσα
 Τετρωνον παρθενικην ἀνθος Ἀθηναῖδα.

Ἀμφι δε μευ και δημος ἅπας ἐδακρυσεν Ἀθηνης,
 Εἶνεκεν ἡλικίας τ' ἡδὲ σαοφροσύνης,

Και καλλεὺς μελεων ἀνδρηΐου, ὥστε μαλιστα
 Παιδεία πινυτη και Σοφίη μελομένη.

Δακρυα δ' οὐ ψυχῇ[.] γενετης ἔμους οἰκτρος, ὀλεσσας
 Εὐφροσύνην βιοτου και χερα γηγροκομον.

Μετρον μοι ζωης ἔτη εἰκοσιν, οὔνομα Φαίδρος
 Χηρας Λευκειας λεκτῷ ἄλοχου λιπομένη.

Κουρην δ' ἣν τεκομένη γεγραροι κομεουσιν τοκηεις,
 Βαιὴν ἀντι τοσης, δυσμοροι, ἀγλαΐης.

*Cecropia's name my virtuous mother bears,
 That honoured name my native country shares ;*

* " This α is lengthened by caesura, or we must read Κεκροπιη."

† The marble has ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΥ.

*My sire, renowned for birth and lineage high,
 Theophilus, of noblest ancestry.
 Stern fate from these had erst, in beauty's morn,
 The lovely maiden Athenais torn.
 For me all Athens sheds the pitying tear,
 So late to learning and to wisdom dear :
 And weeps my youth, and modesty, and grace,
 And manly symmetry of form and face.
 My wretched father's grief no tears assuage,
 Lost his sole joy, the comfort of his age.
 Phaedrus my name : my twentieth summer o'er,
 I shared Leuceæ's widowed bed no more.
 My daughter claims my parents' tender cares,
 Poor remnant of the bliss that once was theirs.*

No. 55. Sepulchral column of Biottus of Diradium.

No. 56. Sepulchral column of Mysteria of Miletus, the wife of Rhaton of Thria. The name of this Athenian township is engraved in a doubtful manner. Instead of ΘΡΙΑΣΙΟΥ, the characters seem to make ΘΗΑΣΙΟΥ.

No. 57. Sepulchral column of Thraso, son of Thrasyphon, of the township of Cicinna. This marble is remarkable for

its magnitude, as well as for that of the characters engraved on it.

No. 58. Stele of Asclepiodorus the Olynthian, and of his son.

No. 59. Sepulchral column of Aristides, son of Lysimachus the Estiaean. This monument does not belong to the celebrated Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, surnamed the Just. Aristides the Just was not of the township of Estiaea, but of that of Alopece. (Plutarch, Aristid. § 1.) Besides, the characters are of a less ancient date.

The name of the township Estiaea is however remarkable, because it is of rare occurrence. This monument determines its orthography. It has sometimes been called Istiaea.

No. 60. Eleven votive inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter *Hypsistos*, or the most high, who had a temple at Thebes (Pausanias, b. 9. ch. 8). These marbles are all of small dimensions, and exhibit bas reliefs

of the different parts of the body, of which the cures had given occasion to the erection of these votive monuments.

That, for instance, of Claudia Prepusa represents two arms : that of Euhodus, an eye : another, in which the name of the person is almost entirely effaced, a hand : that of Paederos, a ear : that of Philematium, two eyes : those of Onesime, Isias, and Eutychis, a breast : that of Olympias, another part of the female person : that of Tertia, the lower part of the face : and that of Syntrophus is without any bas relief ; while a twelfth marble, on the contrary, represents a foot, without any inscription.

No. 61. A fragment of an inscription in the ancient characters, containing a treaty between the Athenians and some other nation. Dr. Chandler has published this inscription, P. II. No. XXVI.

No. 62. Sepulchral column of Botrichus of Heraclea.

No. 63. Fragment of a public act of the Athenians, which seems to relate to some local circumstances in the neighbourhood of Athens, relating to the restoration of the roads. This fragment, which consists of twenty-one lines, contains some peculiarities very interesting to literature, and several new words.

No. 64. A sepulchral epigram, in twelve elegiac verses. This marble, found in the exterior Ceramicus, had belonged to the tomb of the warriors who lost their lives in the attack on Potidaea, in the year 432 B. C.

I read in last September, before the Class of History and Ancient Literature of the Institute of France, a memoir, in which I have endeavoured to restore the eight last verses of this epigram, a contemporary monument which confirms the truth of the narrative of 'Thucydides.*

Among the cinerary vases remarkable

* See the end of this volume.

for their forms, for the sculptures with which they are ornamented, and for their inscriptions ; and among the sepulchral stelae, embellished with inscriptions and bas reliefs, monuments of which there are a great number in the collection of Lord Elgin, there are two which must not be wholly omitted in this Catalogue.

On one of the stelae a young man on horseback is represented, his groom following him on foot. Above the figures we read the following inscription, consisting of three verses, of which the second is a pentameter, the two others hexameters :

Πολλα μεθ' ἡλικίας ὁμοηλικος ἤδεα παισας,
 Ἐκ γαιας βλαστων γαia παλιν γεγονα'
 Εἰμι δ' Ἀριστοκλῆς Πειραιεύς, παis δε Μενωνος.

*Youth's social joys were long my envied lot ;
 But, sprung from earth, I now to earth retire.
 My name, Aristocles, my native spot,
 Piræus : Menon was my honoured sire.*

Dr. Chandler had published this inscription, P. II. p. 69. No. LXXVIII ; and the editor of the third volume of *Stuart's Antiquities of Athens* has engraved the whole monument in a vignette, (p. 56) ; but the copy of the inscription is deficient in accuracy.

The bas relief of another stele is more remarkable. It represents two women. The one who is the taller, in the costume of the goddess Isis, is clothed in a *Calasiris*, or wide linen garment, tied over the chest in a knot. She has a sistrum in her right hand, and a little *bucket (situla)* in her left. The other woman has a head dress in the fashion of the reign of the Antonines.

The inscription, engraved above the second figure, gives her the name of Aphrodisias of Salamis, wife of Olympius. The other, which corresponds to the figure of Isis, is traced in characters which resemble in their form those of the Egyptian

or Coptic alphabet ; and the words, which they represent, seem to belong to the same language.

MEMOIR
ON A
GREEK EPIGRAM
WHICH
SERVED FOR AN EPITAPH ON THE TOMB
OF THE
ATHENIAN WARRIORS KILLED AT POTIDAEA.
READ TO THE CLASS OF HISTORY AND ANCIENT
LITERATURE OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE,
IN THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER 1815

MEMOIR

ON A

GREEK EPIGRAM.

THE palaeographical monuments, which are connected with facts celebrated in the Grecian history, of which the remembrance has been transmitted to us by the great historians of that nation, are extremely rare, and merit all the attention of philologists, of critics, and of antiquaries.

Among the sculptured and engraved marbles which the Earl of Elgin has saved from impending destruction, and which he has removed to England, we observe some Greek inscriptions of high antiquity.

Several of them belong to the same age, which witnessed the magic power of the chisel of Phidias, in the production of so many sublime pieces of sculpture which we admire in this inestimable Collection.

Among these inscriptions, I shall now select one for examination before the Class of the Institute. It is a poetical epitaph on the Athenians who lost their lives in the battle fought under the walls of Potidaea, in the year 432 B. C.*

This action, of which the time is fixed with the greatest precision by Thucydides himself, as having been the 5th month of the magistracy of the eponymous Archon of Athens, Pythodorus, is found minutely described in the first book of this historian, §§ 62 and 63. Aristeus, the son of Adimantus, a distinguished citizen of Corinth, had brought a considerable force from the Peloponnesus, in order to defend this Corinthian colony of Pallene against the

* Corsini *Fasti Attici*, vol. 1. p. 95. vol. 3. p. 227. . .

Athenians, who, commanded by Callias, the son of Calliades, endeavoured to force it to detach itself from the interests of the mother country. Aristeus proposed to place between two fires, according to the modern expression, the Athenian army, which was encamped between Potidaea and Olynthus. When this army advanced towards the city, and Aristeus marched to meet it, the Macedonians in alliance with the Corinthians were to make a sortie from Olynthus, and attack the Athenians in the rear. Callias, who had foreseen this stratagem, took his measures to frustrate its effect: he left behind him some Macedonian troops who took a different part in the war, in order to oppose such of their countrymen as might march from Olynthus; he attacked the Potidaeans and the Corinthians, defeated them, notwithstanding the valour and the first success of Aristeus, and forced them to retire with loss, and to shut themselves up within the

walls of their city, which, after a siege of about two years, was obliged to surrender.* Callias, though victorious, lost his life on the field of battle, and a hundred and fifty Athenians perished with him.

This affair was considered as the first trial of strength between the different parts of Greece, after their separation from each other ; and although the armies concerned in it were not numerous, it acquired great celebrity. Diodorus Siculus calls it† *μαχην περιφανη, an illustrious battle.*

In Thucydides, a writer of the same age, it constitutes a memorable epoch ; he says in his second book, that the Peloponnesian war began the following spring, six months after this victory was obtained by the Athenians, who raised a trophy on the field of battle. The same historian speaks‡ elsewhere of the care which they took, to

* Thucydides, b. 2. § 70.

† B. 12. § 37.

‡ Ib. b. 1. § 63. b. 2. § 2.

remove every year to Athens the bodies of the warriors who lost their lives in their expeditions, to celebrate their funerals, and to honour them with a common monument.* There can be no doubt that some of the 40 vessels, which composed the Athenian fleet that blockaded Potidaea,† carried back to their country the remains of these valiant warriors; and that they had their share in the funeral honours which their fellow citizens so religiously rendered to the brave men who had fallen in fighting for their country. The metrical epitaph found near the Ceramicus at Athens, a place appropriated to these military tombs,‡ in which, notwithstanding the injuries of time, by which it has been

* Thucydides, b. 2. § 34.

† Ib. b. 1. § 61.

‡ Pausanias, Attica, in b. 1. ch. 29 : Meursius, *Ceramicus geminus*, ch. 22, 23, in Gronovius's Thesaurus, vol. 4. p. 1006... The inscription which we are examining was found in the plain of the Academia. The exterior Ceramicus extended to this place.

mutilated, these warriors and their victory are most unequivocally mentioned, affords us perfect certainty with regard to this fact. I shall submit to the Class an exact copy of the epitaph ; its sense will be easily understood, and I shall endeavour to supply its deficiencies in the most probable manner.

It will be proper to begin by remarking, that besides the inscriptions which contained the names of the Athenians slain in battle, and which were engraved on their common tombs, these monuments were frequently decorated by another inscription in verse, expressive of the admiration of their country, and of the general sorrow for their loss. Pausanias has mentioned one of these elegies ;* and Demosthenes has preserved that which Athens had placed on the tomb of her citizens who fell at Chaeronea, in defending the liberty of

* B. 1. ch. 29.

Greece against Philip.* It consists of ten elegiac verses.

That which I present to you contains twelve ; at the beginning of which there remain some vestiges of a line in larger characters, serving as a sort of title to the epitaph. These vestiges afford us at first sight but little hope of extracting any sense from them : but in examining them with more attention, we discover in them the traces of the four letters ΕΛΟΙ, which might be regarded as the two last syllables of the word *στρατηγῶ* (ΕΛΟΙ for ΗΓΩΙ) ; for the characters of this inscription resemble those of the Athenian marbles of Nointel and Choiseul,† except that in the first of the inscriptions of Nointel, the *rho* and the *sigma* have a different form. According to this conjecture, it is not altogether

* Pro corona, p. 222 ; Ed. Reiske.

† Montfaucon, *Palaeographia Graeca*, b. 2. ch. 4 ; Maffei, *Museum Veronense*, p. 406, 407 ; Barthélemy, *Dissertation sur une ancienne inscription grecque*, Paris, 1792, 4to.

absurd to suppose that the whole title of the inscription may have been somewhat like the following :

ΕΙΣΤΟΣΕΝΤΕΙΜΑΧΕΙΤΕΠΕΡΙ
ΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΙΑΝΣΥΤΓΚΑΛΛΙΑΙΣΤΡΑΤ
ΕΛΟΙΠΕΠΤΟΚΟΤΑΣ
Εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ περὶ
Ποτειδαίαν συν Καλλία στρατ-
ΗΓΩΙ πεπτωκότας.

On the warriors who fell in battle under the walls of Potidaea, with Callias their general.

These four characters are placed at a greater distance from each other than those of the rest of the inscription. We observe this variety of distribution in some other palaeographical monuments of the same date.* This seems to have been usual at the end of a title, or of a separate article of an inscription, in order that the

* See Chandler's Collection (*Inscriptiones per Asiam et Graeciam*, Part II. No. II, CLVII.); and the title of the first inscription of Nointel, in the *Palaeographia Graeca* of Montfaucon, loc. citat.

last words should fill up a space nearly equal to that of the preceding lines.

The epigram stands at present thus :

Λ / Α Ο Ι - - - - -

1. ΑΘΑΝΑΙ - - - - -
2. ΣΕΜΑΙΝΕΙ - - - - -
3. ΚΑΙΠΡΟΛΟΝΟ - - -
4. ΝΙΚΕΝΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ - - -
5. ΑΙΘΕΡΜΕΜΦΣΥΧΑΣΤΗΠΕΔΕΧΣΑΤΟΣΟ - - -
6. ΤΟΝΔΕΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΙΑΣΑΜΦΙΠΥΛΑΣΕΙ - - -
7. ΕΧΘΡΟΝΔΟΙΜΕΝΕΧΟΣΙΤΑΦΟΜΕΡΟΣΗΙ - -
8. ΤΕΙΧΟΣΠΙΣΤΟΤΑΤΕΝΗΕΝΠΙΔΕΘΕΝΤΟ - -
9. ΑΝΔΡΑΣΜΕΜΠΟΙΙΣΗΕΔΕΠΟΘΕΙΚΑΙΔ - -
10. ΠΡΟΣΘΕΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΙΑΣΗΟΙΘΑΝΟΝΕΜΠΙ - -
11. ΠΑΙΔΕΣΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΝΦΣΥΧΑΣΔΑ - - - - -
12. - - - ΑΧΣΑΝΤΑΡΕΤΕΝΚΑΙΠΑΤ - - ΤΥΚΙ -

The third and fifth distichs, mutilated as they are, determine the subject of the elegy. The fifth affords a complete sense in the words which are read without mutilation :

ΑΝΔΡΑΣ ΜΕΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΗΔΕ ΠΟΘΕΙ . .
ΠΡΟΣΘΕ ΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΙΑΣ ΟΙ ΘΑΝΟΝ

This city regrets the warriors who fell before Potidaea.

Having established this principal point of my researches, I shall proceed to offer my remarks on each line of this epitaph.

Of the first verse there only remains the imperfect word ΑΘΑΝΑΙ : of the sixth character we distinguish only a vertical line, which might belong to several different letters, but the five preceding incline us to believe that this stroke was a part of a Ταυ, and that the word was one of the cases of the adjective ἀθανατος. In an Athenian inscription, it would be absurd to suppose that the name of the city itself, or that of the goddess its protectress, should be expressed in any other dialect than the Attic.

L. 2. The word ΣΕΜΑΙΝΕΙ (σημαίνει) is distinct and complete.

L. 3. ΚΑΙΠΡΟΛΟΝΟ : The form of the lambda in the following line, λ, shows that the seventh letter, Λ, in this line is a gam-

ma. As the O , the Ω , and the diphthong OY , are represented in the inscription by the same character O , it is probable that the last letter of the line is meant either for an Ω or for the diphthong. It is natural to think that the ancestors of these brave men were mentioned in the plural : and I imagine that we may either read

ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΓΟΝΩΝ, or ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΓΟΝΟΥΣ.

L. 4. ΝΙΚΕΝΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ : of the last letter there remains but a vertical line, probably the left leg of a Νυ ; ΝΙΚΗΝ ΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ.

I prefer this reading to another which might be suggested, ΝΙΚΗΝ ΕΥ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΝΤΕΣ.

I have two reasons for this preference ; the first is in the rhythm : the verse, being a pentameter, demands a pause after the syllable which follows the end of the second foot : this pause is preserved in the reading ΝΙΚΗΝ ΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ, and not in the

other : the second reason is deduced from the Homeric hymn in honour of Mars, in which the same epithet is given to Victory, of whom Mars is called the father.*

Νικης εὐπολεμοιο πατερ.

Νικη εὐπολεμος is the victory which gives a happy termination to the war.

With the third distich the completion of the verses begins to appear possible. The greatest part of this distich exists in this form :

ΑΙΘΕΡΜΕΜΦΣΥΧΑΣΤΥΠΕΔΕΧΣΑΤΟΣΟ

ΤΟΝΔΕΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΙΑΣΑΜΦΙΠΥΛΑΣΕΛ

The two letters, ΣΟ, at the conclusion of the former line, belong to the word ΣΟΜΑΤΑ (*σώματα*) *bodies*, which is opposed to ΦΣΥΧΑΣ (*ψυχας*) *souls*.

The Aether, says the poet, has received their souls ; and their bodies at the gates of Potidaea . . .

I conjecture that the deficiencies of these two verses may be thus supplied :

* Hymn to Mars, v. 4.

ΑΙΘΕΡΜΕΜΦΣΥΧΑΣΥΠΕΔΕΧΣΑΤΟΣΟΜΑΤΑΔΗΤΥΠ

NON

ΤΟΝΔΕΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΙΑΣΑΜΦΙΠΥΛΑΣΕΛΑΧΟΝ

Αἶθρ' ἔμεν ψυχὰς ὑπέδεξατο, σώματα δ' ὕπνον

Τὸν δὲ Ποτειδαιῆος ἄμφι πυλᾶς ἔλαχον.

The last word, ΕΛΑΧΟΝ, seems to be sufficiently certain, since the two first letters have been preserved.

The insertion of the word ὕπνον may be thought to require some discussion. But it must be allowed, 1st, that after the word ΣΩΜΑΤΑ, which the sense obviously requires, the particle ΔΕ is indispensable, in order to correspond to the ΜΕΝ which precedes it; 2dly, that this particle must have suffered an elision, since the hexameter requires a long syllable for the spondee at its end; 3dly, that the last word of the verse must have been a noun masculine, as its agreement with the demonstrative ΤΟΝΔΕ, which follows, renders indubitable; 4thly, this word must also have begun with a vowel, in order to the elision of the short

vowel of the particle ΔΕ, and its first syllable must have been long. Few Greek words will be found to fulfil all these conditions.

If this monument had been placed on the field of battle, I should have proposed the word ΟΙΚΟΝ (*οικον τουδε*) *their bodies have obtained this home under the walls of Potidaea* ; and this sense would form a correct antithesis to the former part of the sentence, respecting the union of the souls with the purest air, or Aether, which was according to the philosophy of the age.* But the epitaph and the monument were placed at Athens, according to the custom of the republic ; it is there that the marble was found ; and even independently of that circumstance, the 9th verse, in which we read ΠΟΛΙΣ ΗΔΕ, *this city*, which is Athens and not Potidaea, would prove it

* Particularly that of Anaximander and of Anaxogoras. See Plutarch, *de placitis philosophorum*, b. 1. ch. 3 ; b. 4. ch. 3.

beyond contradiction. I have thought, therefore, that the word ῥπνον would fulfil all the necessary conditions better than any other: *and their bodies at the gates of Potidaea have found this sleep (this eternal sleep.)**

I had also thought of the word OPMON, for death is not only compared by the ancients to sleep, but it is also regarded as the *port*, in which mankind is sheltered at length from the storms and the dangers of life ;† but it appeared to me that this word, carrying with it an idea of locality, afforded but an embarrassed sense, and did not very well accord with the mention of Potidaea. The port which received these warriors, under the walls of Potidaea, does not seem to be that in which their

* Many sepulchral epigrams have designated death by the appellations *ιερος ύπνος*, *ύπνος πεπρωμενος*, *όφειλομενος*, *νηγρετος*, &c. ; *sacred sleep*, *fatal sleep*, *sleep due to all mortals*, *sleep never to be disturbed*. See the 44th, 49th, and 56th epigrams of Callimachus, and the 666th of the *Adespota* in the *Analecta* of Brunck.

† Virg. Aen. b. 7. v. 598, Longin. § 9. No. 7.

bodies rest in the suburbs of Athens. I prefer, therefore, ῥπνον : [although others might possibly suggest αῖνον or εἶτον, or might even think εἶνον equally admissible.

The sense of the whole distich will be :

The Aether has received their souls, and their bodies have found eternal rest at the gates of Potidaea.

This same distich gives occasion to some palaeographical remarks : MEM is written for MEN, on account of the following mute labial letter *psi* (ΦΣ) ; this substitution is very frequent in ancient monuments, and is almost always observed in the inscriptions of these remote ages. It is also to the orthography of the same period, at which the characters expressing the double letters were not yet generally adopted, that we must attribute the use of the two letters *phi* and *sigma* to express the ψ (*psi*), and that of the *chi* and *sigma* for the ξ (*xi*.)

What is most remarkable is the orthography of the word Ποτειδαία, which we

find every where else written without a diphthong in the second syllable, *Ποτιδαία*, in the Ionic manner, and according to Herodotus. The orthography *Ποτειδαία* is, however, more consonant to the etymology ; and without doubt this was the primitive form of the word ; for we recognise in it the name of Neptune, *Ποσειδων*, which in the Doric pronunciation of the Potidaeans* became *Ποτειδων*, the tutelary divinity of their city, of which the name in another dialect would have been *Ποσειδεία*. This connexion of Potidaea with Neptune is not a gratuitous assertion or a mere conjecture ; it is supported by historical evidence. Herodotus relates, that the Persians, in attacking Potidaea, were drowned on its shores by an extraordinary elevation of the sea, an event which the Greeks attributed to the displeasure of Neptune. The god, they said, took this vengeance for the destruction of his tem-

* Thucydides, b. 1. §. 124.

ple, which was situated without the walls of the city.*

The 4th distich exhibits a deficiency which it is easier to supply : we read,

ΕΧΘΡΟΝΔΟΙΜΕΝΕΧΟΣΙΤΑΦΟΜΕΡΟΣ . .

after this word there remains only the aspiration Η, belonging to the article ΗΟΙ (οἱ δέ), which must answer to the οἱ μέν at the beginning of the verse. The following is almost entire, in this form :

ΤΕΙΧΟΣΠΙΣΤΟΤΑΤΕΝΗΕΛΠΙΔΕΘΕΝΤΟ . .

A part of the enemy obtained the honours of sepulture, another part was put to flight, and trusted to the ramparts of the city, the surest hope of their safety ; according to this interpretation, respecting which no doubt can be entertained, we might thus supply the words which have been effaced :

ΕΧΘΡΟΝΔΟΙΜΕΝΕΧΟΣΙΤΑΦΟΜΕΡΟΣΗοι δέ Φυγοντες
ΤΕΙΧΟΣΠΙΣΤΟΤΑΤΕΝΗΕΛΠΙΔΕΘΕΝΤΟβιον

* Herodotus, b. 8. ch. 129. This is the same place that is mentioned by Thucydides under the name Ποσειδωνιον, *Neptunium* (b. 4. § 129.) _

Ἐχθρῶν δ'οἱ μὲν ἔχουσι ταφου μέρος, οἱ δὲ φυγοντες
 Τειχος πιστοτατην ἐλπίδ' ἔθεντο βίου.

The facts stated in these two verses agree perfectly with the narrative of Thucydides. Aristeus, who had obtained a remarkable advantage in his own quarter, when he saw the defeat of the principal corps of the army, endeavoured to regain the *walls* of the city, towards which the fugitive troops *retired in disorder*, εἰς τὸ τεῖχος κατεφυγον, says the historian.* Nor does he neglect to mention the *truce* granted by the Athenians to the enemy for the burial of the *dead*, whose bodies *they gave up to the Potidaeans*, τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπονδούς ἀπέδωκαν τοῖς Ποτιδαιαταῖς.† The phrase ἔχειν ταφου μέρος, in the epigram, does not imply that the dead bodies of the Potidaeans shared the funeral rites of the Athenians, as we might be tempted to suppose, from a too literal interpretation of the word μέρος. This word is here only

* B. 1. § 63.

† Loc. cit

equivalent to *lot*, or *portion*, and signifies that it was the lot of such of the enemy, as were killed in the battle, to be buried with appropriate honours. We have an example of the same expression in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus, where the sense is the same : Οὐ γὰρ, says the herald Talthybius,*

Οὐ γὰρ ποτ' ἤχουεν τῇδ' ἐν Ἀργεῖα πολεὶ
Θανῶν, μετεξεῖν φίλτατου τάφου μέρος.

*For never thought I in this honoured earth
To share in death the portion of a tomb. POTTER.*

The aspiration of some of the words deserves to be remarked in this distich. The *H* is a character which in these very ancient inscriptions serves to mark the aspiration of the initial vowels : yet in the seventh line, *OI MEN* is without the aspirate, though the corresponding *HOI ΔΕ* begins with an *H*.

I have observed that in other monuments of the same kind this sign of

* Aeschyl. *Agamemn.* v. 518.

aspiration has sometimes been neglected. Thus the H has been omitted in the word ΑΛΙΕΥΣΙ, *fishermen*, in the title of the first of the inscriptions of Nointel ; and in another inscription of Lord Elgin's Collection, engraved in the time of the Peloponnesian war, the aspirate is omitted at the beginning of the proper name ΑΛΝΟΔΕΜΟΣ (*Ἀγνοδημος*), *Hagnodemus*.

In the present inscription the aspirate has been omitted at the beginning of the word Ὑπεδεξατο, as it is omitted in the word Ὑποκρητηρα of the Sigeian inscription. We find it, however, before the initial Ὑ of the word ΗΥΦΣΟΣ (*ὑψος*), of the Athenian inscription, which belonged to the Society of *Dilettanti* in London. (Chandler, p. 11. No. I.)

By an opposite peculiarity, the word ΗΕΛΠΙΣ (*ἐλπίς*) is here aspirated, but never in the manuscripts of ancient authors : and this circumstance is not owing to an accidental insertion of the character ; it

seems on the contrary to have related to an ancient pronunciation, of which the vestiges still remain in Latin inscriptions, in which this word and its derivatives, when converted into proper names, as *Helpis*, *Helpidius*, *Helpidianus*, are always preceded by an H.

The 5th distich presents fewer difficulties than the rest; and the mutilation of the verses does not render their sense obscure :

ΑΝΔΡΑΣ ΜΕΜΠΟΛΙΣ ΗΕ ΔΕΠΟΘΕΙΚΑΙ Δ - - -

ΠΡΟΣΘΕΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΙΑΣ ΗΟΙΘΑΝΟΝΕΜΠΗ - -

Our country regrets these warriors who fell before Potidaea.

The Δ which remains at the end of the 9th verse has suggested to me the supplementary words ΔΑΚΡΥΣΙ ΤΙΜΑΙ, (δακρυσι τιμαί)* *honours them with its tears* ; although

* Ennius, a great imitator of the Greeks, has employed the same expression in his epitaph in elegiac verses :

Nemo me LACRUMIS DECORET.

Let no man grace my funeral with tears.

The Homeric phrase δακρυα λειβει would supply the de-

I will not assert that this was the precise expression of the ancient poet.

At the end of the 10th verse I conjecture that the word, which is wanting, was ΠΡΟΜΑΧΟΙΣ.

The perpendicular stroke which follows the Π (*pi*) does not allow us to think of the word *πολεμῶ*, which would also render the expression less animated ; whoever recollects the elegies of Tyrtaeus will readily adopt the insertion which I have proposed. Thus the sense of the 5th distich will be :

This city honours with its regret and its tears the warriors who fell before Potidaea, exposing themselves to danger in the first ranks of the combatants.

The last distich has suffered more than the preceding. What remains of it is this :

ΠΑΙΔΕΣΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΝΦΣΥΧΑΣΔΑ - - -

ΑΧΣΑΝΤΑΡΕΤΕΝΚΑΙΠΙΑΤ - - - ρΥΚ↓ - - -

The MEN of the 9th line inclines me to

ficiency equally well, but would not afford so good a connexion with the words which follow in the next line.

believe that the Δ which follows the word ΦΣΥΧΑΣ must be marked with an apostrophe, and that the word which follows must begin with an Α. This conjecture, indeed, I consider as a certainty.

The beginning of the last line has been impaired by the fracture of the marble. Taking every thing into consideration, I am disposed to adopt for the letters wanting ΗΑΙΠΡ (αί πραξαν).

The mutilation of the other end of the line seems to be equally easy to supply : the traces of the four letters ΕΥΚΛ suggest to me the aorist εὐκλειῖσαν, which I have already found in a metrical epitaph on a warrior of Megara.*

The three letters ΠΑΤ are probably the first of the word ΠΑΤΡΙΔ for πατριδα.

Thus the whole verse would be read :

* That of Python. An extract from the memoir, in which I have explained this inscription, is printed in the first volume of the *Histoire de la Classe d'Histoire et Littérature ancienne de l'Institut de France*. We read in it, πατρε' εὐκλειῖζων, and εὐκλειῖσ' Ἀνδοκιδαν.

ΗΑΙ ΠΡΑΧΣΑΝΤΑΡΕΤΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΕΥΚΛΕΪΣΑΝ.

Αἱ πράξαν τ' ἀρετὴν καὶ πατρίδ' εὐκλεῖσαν.

Those souls who by the exercise of their virtue have added to the glories of their country.

The expression *πράξαι ἀρετὴν*, though I have no precise authority for it at hand, differs but little from the well known phrase *πράξαι ἀγαθόν*, nor from another which is found in an oration of Aeschines,* *πραττεῖν ἐπιτηδεύματα*; nor lastly from a third *ποιῆσαι ἀρετάς*, which occurs in Aristophanes (*Frogs*, v. 1040) :

Ὅθεν ἢ ᾗ μὴ φρενὶ ἀπομαξαμένη, πολλὰς ἀρετάς ἐποίησεν
Πατροκλῶν, Τευκρῶν θυμολεόντων.

*Thus my soul, taking pattern from heroes departed,
From Patroclus, and Teucer, those chiefs lion hearted,
Mighty deeds has "achieved."*

[— The gallant deeds
Of brave Patroclus, Teucer, "and Thymalion,"
I sang to fire each valiant citizen. DUNSTER.]

I cite this passage the more willingly,

* *Contra Timarchum*, p. 6. Ed. Taylor, or p. 64. Ed. Reiske.

as it affords me a tolerably happy addition to the 11th line of the epitaph, which will thus become :

Παῖδες Ἀθηναίων, ψυχὰς δ' ἀπομαζατ' ἀρείους

Αἱ πράξαν τ' ἀρετὴν καὶ πατρίδ' εὐκλείσαν.

And you, young Athenians, imitate (cause to revive in your persons) those courageous souls, who by the exercise of their virtue added new lustre to the glory of their country.

Before we quit this subject, it will be proper to notice the falsehood of the assertions of Demochares, who, in order to calumniate the philosophers, and Socrates in particular, had maintained, in a work of which Athenaeus has given us some extracts, that no battle had ever been fought between the Athenians and the Potidaeans; his sole object having been to deprive Socrates of the glory of having been one of the combatants.*

* Athenaeus, b. 5. p. 215; and vol. 3. of the *Ani-madversiones* of Schweighäuser on the same passage, b. 5. ch. 55.

This monument, contemporary with the facts which it records, affords us a new argument, in addition to a multitude of others, which have already been advanced by modern critics, in opposition to the calumnious assertions of this rhetorician, who has attacked the votaries of philosophy.

Thus, after the restorations which I have proposed, the sense of the part of the epigram which remains tolerably perfect will be nearly this :

Their souls high heaven received : their bodies gained,

In Potidaea's plains, this hallowed tomb.

Their foes unnumbered fell : a few remained,

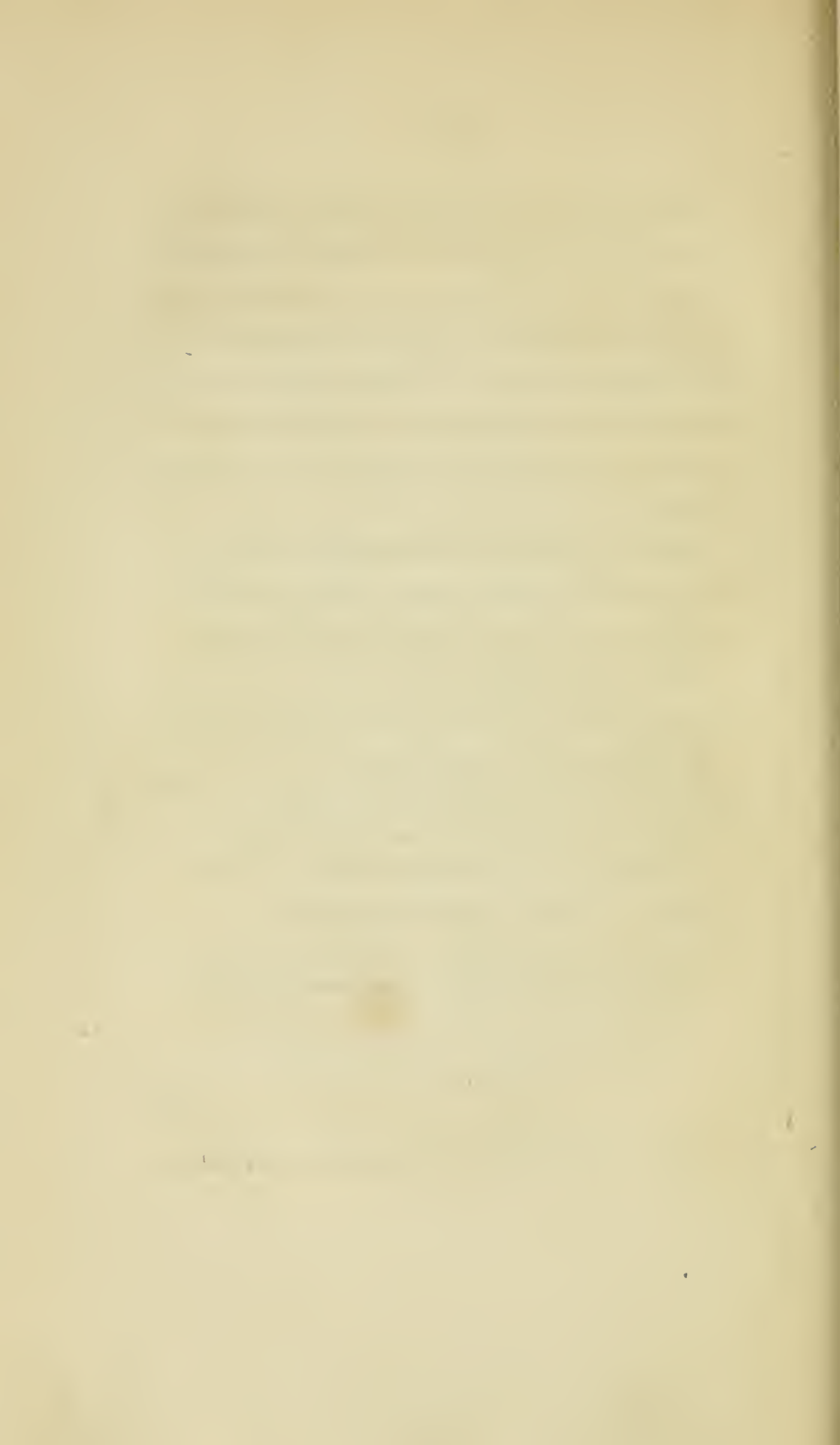
Saved by their ramparts from the general doom.

The victor city mourns her heroes slain,

Foremost in fight, they for her glory died.

Tis yours, ye sons of Athens, to sustain,

By martial deeds like theirs, your country's pride.



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